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AUTHOR Williams, Robin M., Jr.
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ABSTRACT

Sociological interpretations of racial and ethnic relations in modern industrialized societies are examined. Ethnic and racial relations are interpreted as areas of study within the discipline of sociology which focus on interaction of ethnic and/or racial aims and demands with social processes and cultural phenomena. To clarify the state of the art of ethnic relations and ethnicity, researchers should determine recurring research problems and ascertain how to make research in ethnic relations more valid. Major problems with existing research include that it excludes important conditions, variables, and contexts; overemphasizes concepts; underemphasizes income and power; hasn't updated concepts so that they apply to present conditions; and defines conceptual schemes too narrowly. Researchers can correct these and other faults if they devise appropriate conceptualizations which are in line with systematic comparative data, move away from ad hoc descriptions and toward well-defined variables which will serve to characterize recurrent situations, and stress historical and cross-cultural documentation. The conclusions are that ethnicity is a major factor in political and social change in modern as well as developing societies and that researchers must update their methods so that they can realistically interpret data relating to ethnic groups, ethnic relations, and ethnicity. (DB)

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Structure and Process in Ethnic Relations:

Increased Knowledge and Unanswered Questions

Robin M. Williams, Jr.
Cornell University

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1. Introduction

Within American sociology during this century there has been a rejection, first, of initial biologicistic-racial assumptions, and, second, of individual attitudes or prejudices taken in themselves as a major factor in racial relations. A preoccupation with assimilation gave way to a focus upon cultural pluralism, linked with economic and political integration, and this, in turn to emphases upon institutionalized racism, ethnic distinctiveness and persistence, "nationalism" (Pinkney, 1976; Hall, 1978), conflict, and revolution. Such shifts in interests are sometimes regarded as changes in "theories," but they often represent preferences and ideologies at least as much as differences in explanatory schemes or empirical propositions.

The salience of ethnic differences in the modern world has been well documented. There are nearly 900 identified ethnic groupings within today's nation-states (Murdock, 1967). Appreciable opposition, controversy and conflict exist and will develop in many of these nations -- Heisler (1977:1) estimates "as many as one half," and goes on to claim that, "Ethnic differences are the single most important source of large-scale conflict within states, and they

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are frequently instrumental in wars between countries as well."

Furthermore, and contrary to a once-popular view that the political significance of ethnicity would decrease in modernized or industrialized societies, recent decades have shown both the persistence and the resurgence of ethnic politics in many societies around the world. Numerous recent examples are advanced to show how ethnic or cultural distinctiveness is maintained or newly developed (ethnogenesis) (Singer, 1962) in complex urban societies -- partly because ethnicity often turns out to be an effective base for political mobilization (Hechter, 1973). The degree of political utility to be derived from ethnic maintenance is highly variable, depending upon: (1) the extent to which pre-existing political parties have incorporated ethnic aims and demands, or, whether class or other functionally-based coalitions are effective in this respect; (2) the degree to which the ethnic segment has a territorial base for political action. The end of political colonialism in Africa and Asia has been followed by a vast wave of struggles and conflicts among ethnic groupings within new nations (see the bibliography in Helmreich, 1977). Resurgent ethnicity has been politically important also in Belgium, Great Britain, Canada, Spain, Switzerland, Yugoslavia, and the United States, to mention only a few conspicuous cases.

The "field of study" of ethnic and racial relations does not refer to an abstract analytical category such as "economic action" or "power" or "anomie" but rather to concrete types of social entities and relationships. Even so, the units which are the starting points for inquiry typically do not have the sharp boundaries and tight internal connections of organizations (cf. March and Simon, 1958) or of small groups (Smith, 1967). The enormous diversity of topics that are studied under the umbrella of racial and ethnic relations is

apparent to casual inspection. Evidently, then, what we have is a locus, an arena, within which nearly any topic of sociological interest may be studied. Racial and cultural relations manifest all major social processes, from altruistic behavior and cooperation to total social conflict (Williams, 1977, 1975a), and connect with every kind of important social and cultural structure. Small wonder, then, that an ingenious mind can detect numerous nonobvious connections between ethnicity and other social and cultural phenomena (cf. Yinger, 1977).

The accumulation of empirical knowledge over the last thirty years or so has been great, and the advances in the scope and in the technical and theoretical sophistication of analysis has been impressive (Lambert in Heisler, ed. 1977: vii). It is important to emphasize these facts, for the field is marked also by enough intense disagreements and incessant self-criticisms (cf. Wadlow, 1978, 1) to occasionally obscure the extent of advancement of knowledge.

Even the most sober and cautious observers can be carried away by the momentary salience of large-scale social events. The result is a disconcerting tendency for appraisals of the importance of this or that "factor" to shift rapidly from one historical period to another. Thus, we see overweening significance attributed to economic classes in the 1920s and 1930s, nations and ideologies in the 1930s and 1940s, the end of ideology in the 1950s, and ethnicity in the 1960s and 1970s. But societies and social relationships are multifactored and multi-determined and the concrete causal role of one or another set of variables obviously changes from time to time and place to place. The enormous importance now attributed to ethnicity by many social scientists in the United States (cf. Glazer and Moynihan, eds., 1975) is, of course, historically conditioned and may be a transitory phenomenon. Ethnicity today is a major factor in political events and social change in many societies;

it will continue to be so for the foreseeable future. But nations, classes, economic interest groups, and status groupings based on sex and on age are and will be also highly significant social units and movements. Ethnicity is one among many bases of solidarity and cleavage.

The bulk of criticisms directed by workers in this field against the efforts of their peers fall into the following categories:

1. important factors (conditions, variables, contexts) have not been included;
2. the work gives too much emphasis to concepts (factors, conditions) A and B - e.g., prestige and status inequality -- and not enough to C and D -- e.g., income and power;
3. the author's ideology is wrong; the conclusions are distorted or biased;
4. there is a failure to recognize that old concepts do not apply to present conditions, e.g., "ethnic group" should be set aside in favor of "ethclass;"
5. the problem is more complex than the author believes; the study has an overly simple view of the complex reality;
6. the conceptual scheme is incomplete/one-sided (e.g., structural, not cultural); the definitions are too narrow/broad;
7. the units studied are insufficient (e.g., too few ethnic groups; the study is American, not cross-cultural);
8. too little of the variance can be accounted for in the analysis; the study has low predictive power;
9. the factors studied are not open to purposive manipulation; consequently (a) clear causal imputations cannot be made, and (b) the work has limited relevance for social policy and practice;

10. measurement or indexing is faulty; lack of precision precludes testing of definitive hypotheses;
11. the study design is inadequate to support the inferences drawn (over-generalization from sample; lack of experimental controls, etc.);
12. the analysis is insufficiently differentiated; the data are over-aggregated (e.g., intraethnic differences are ignored);
13. there is a paucity of observational studies of actual behavior, either within or outside the laboratory, other than the answering of questions in interviews or questionnaires; the old question of the relationships between testimony (retrospective or prospective) and behavior-in-relevant-context is more often begged than answered directly and systematically;
14. the bulk of the studies deal with static constructs and cross-sectional data, and therefore are unable to depict crucial processes and to demonstrate causal connections.

The mandate given by President Blalock to these Thematic Sessions amounts to asking, "what is wrong with your field, if anything, and what can be done about it, if anything?" After the listing just reviewed we may be tempted to answer the first part of the question with "Everything," and the second, with "Nothing." But a more careful appraisal will give grounds for greater even if cautious optimism. Let us see.

This paper deals with the following topics: issues and progress in conceptualization, research methods, empirical generalizations, needed developments, and promising directions for further work. Such an analytical survey runs the risk of becoming lost in a mass of details and of confusing cross-currents of thought. Let us, therefore, state in advance a few central themes that run through the material.

1. We see marked advancement in knowledge, but considerable divergencies in presuppositions and interpretations.
 2. The main difficulties arise from use of unduly one-sided or narrow theoretical frameworks, resulting in many ad hoc or "ideological" interpretations that are not articulated closely with systematic comparative data.
 3. Appropriate conceptual schemes and research methodologies are available and are being improved.
 4. Out of many possibilities, we sketch a few broad lines of promising development.
2. Conceptualizations: problems and progress

The recent flood of writings concerning ethnic groupings and ethnicity presents numerous varying definitions of the central terms. There is general agreement that ethnicity involves some kind and degree of cultural distinctiveness, especially of language (or dialect) and religion. Most definitions stress that ethnicity is a focus of group identity and of solidarity and loyalty. Many writers add ethnic consciousness as an essential characteristic-- members of an ethnic group have a self-conscious identity. Obviously each of the attributes specified in the definitions is a variable.

[The differences in definition] could be theoretically resolved if we could agree that ethnic consciousness or identity is not something consisting of one piece, but is a matter of degree. Although it is difficult to imagine that a territorially contiguous population, sharing a common language (or its dialects) and basically the same customs, may be completely oblivious of the differences existing between itself and its alien neighbours, unquestionably, the intensity of ethnic consciousness may vary greatly (Symmons - Symonolewicz, 1979, 99).

To the above set of defining traits we may add others -- for example, endogamy, informal social closure against outsiders, degree of formal organization. It seems evident, then, that any useful definition here will be an enumerative

or range definition, which essentially lists a set of variable characteristics; in the perfect case or pure type, all will be present in marked degree; other "types" will have fewer of the attributes, and in less clear or developed forms. The extent to which the designated characteristics form an ordered set is an important empirical question. The meaning of ethnic group can be clarified by systematic comparisons of such sets with those identified as castes, estates, social classes, extended kinship groupings, and local communities (cf. Young, 1970, on "reactive subsystems"). The result, happily, could be that we would have fewer discursive arguments about terms and more solid empirical generalizations and coherent theoretical linkages.

Although specific definitions necessarily vary with the particular problem being analyzed, there is substantial agreement on main criteria used by investigators to identify ethnic groupings, i.e., membership by birth, or ascriptive characteristics (race, religion, language); sentiments of solidarity with others similarly situated and sentiments of difference or separateness vis a vis others of different origins; and partial closure of intimate social interaction within the ethnic collectivity. A common usage is that of Barth and Noel (1972:333) who treat ethnic "as a generic term encompassing racism, nationality, and religious groups." A similar position is adopted by Williams (1977).

Nevertheless, because of the variations in actual practice:

We must note carefully...the complex referents that are variously attached to the concepts "racial" and "ethnic". In their psychological aspects, ethnic relations are characterized by variations in salience, clarity, importance, hostility or positive affect, ambivalence, commitment, identification. In the cultural system, ethnicity may involve language, religious beliefs and practices, institutional norms and values, expressive styles, food preferences, and so on. Ethnic collectivities vary in size, interconnectedness, definiteness and strength of boundaries, degree of social closure, centralization, stratification, control of resources, relationships with allies and enemies, internal interdependence, degree and kind of social control of members.

These complexities exist in the real world and cannot be thought away without destroying the empirical subject matter. Consequently, propositions dealing with ethnic relations in general often are highly abstract and may be vacuous. Specification of what is being talked about in particular instances is a necessary safeguard against both vagueness and over generalization (Williams, 1975a, 126).

For example, the complexities of ethnic identity as well as the complexities of social and cultural integration are marvelously illustrated in such concrete instances as Arabic-speaking American Catholics, either Roman or Orthodox (Byzantine-Melkite) Catholics, of Syrian (Lebanese) ancestry. Especially striking in that case is the tension between specific religious traditions and reconstituted cultural (ethnic) identities as the population has sought "acculturation without assimilation" (Kayal, 1973).

Although the several defining characteristics (traits) of ethnicity vary to some degree independently, they often are highly intercorrelated. "When, for example, there is a threat, real or perceived, to the unity or survival of the group, the salience of all variables will go up concurrently" (Schermerhorn, 1974: 2).

Ethnicity surely varies in its cultural, social and psychological implications from place to place and time to time. For example, the New Ethnicity of the 1960's and 1970's has had a strongly self-conscious assertiveness and explicit cultural-political claims (Stein and Hill, 1973). In complex societies ethnic collectivities may emphasize different items among their potentially significant cultural traits at different times: language, religion, race, territory, national origin, occupational or economic position, political affiliations and ideologies, and so on (Das Gupta, 1974). The degree of fluidity in such rearrangements of the criteria and symbols of collective identity and organization depend upon varying combinations of two central variables: (1) political, economic, and status interests (Streib, 1974),

(2) constraints and opportunities defined by relationships with other ethnic and class groupings.

A growing emphasis is evident in the recent literature on the distinction between the cultural content of ethnicity and the structural characteristics of the congeries or collectivity carrying the culture. Two structural features receive increasing attention: (1) the definiteness of the group boundary; (2) the external structural constraints, such as political and economic inequalities and pressures.

Studies of racial and ethnic groupings and relationships have drawn upon a large set of diverse conceptual/theoretical formulations, some of which have been developed in other fields. Examples include not only the obvious cases of such broad schemes as Marxism or structural-functionalism, or "consensus" and "conflict" perspectives, but also the use of somewhat more specific conceptual sets. The latter include, among others,

- ... dual labor market theory (cf. Bonacich, 1976);
- ... ideas from political science concerning, e.g., separatism, federalism, co-sovereignty, concurrent-majority;
- ... cultural nationalism;
- ... internal colonialism (Blauener, 1972; Hechter, 1975)
- ... institutionalized racism (or, racialism);
- ... ethnogenesis; primordial ethnicity;
- ... ethnic groupings as interest-groups in political processes; resource competition (Despres, ed., 1975);
- ... race relations cycle.

Insofar as these various "approaches" or "perspectives" or "conceptual schemes" use social and cultural variables as explanatory factors in accounting for

specified cultural and social outcomes, the problems and opportunities in research on racial and ethnic relations are not basically different from those found in any other sub-topic of sociology (cf. Barth and Noel, 1972, 345). Nevertheless, it would be an unduly abstract exercise here to deal only in general categories. Let us turn, accordingly, to some of the conceptual issues that are relatively particular to this field.

The claim that ethnicity is primordial - "distinct from all the other multiple and secondary identities people acquire" (Isaacs, 1974: 15) has been denied (Hechter, 1974) on the ground that ethnic solidarity in complex societies is primarily a response to structural discrimination. What Hechter's data indicate is that "status politics" rather than "class politics" seems most prevalent in those parts of Great Britain that have been relatively poor and culturally subordinated. From this finding, it is inferred that, with some exceptions, ethnicity becomes politically salient only when lines of cultural distinction coincide with or are used as the basis for social stratification (distribution of resources). The question of whether such outcomes depend upon the prior existence of "primordial," if latent, distinctions is not directly at issue in these conclusions.

The model, or metaphor, of internal colonialism has furnished a central mode of interpretation for several influential works, e.g., Blauner, 1972; Hechter, 1975; Pinkney, 1976. Essentially this approach regards ethnic/racial distinctiveness as interactive with relations of political and economic domination: a dominant grouping gains from the institutionalized subordination of an internal segment of a national society. Given these premises, both assimilation and gradual reforms are seen as illusory means, if the goals are equality and autonomy. The model focuses upon the routine functioning of

dominant institutions as the pervasive base of categorical discrimination and prejudice. It achieves its evocative impact by vividly reminding us of similarities between the economic and political statuses of ethnic minorities and those of colonized societies (Hurstfield, 1978). The crucial conceptual problems, however, lie in identifying, as well, the characteristics that differentiate between internal and external colonialism. As Hechter (1976: 33) notes, a strict definition of colonialism probably should include a political (administrative) differentiation between "citizens" and "subjects" and should take into account territorial separation. Again, a range-definition is needed, with specification of the ranges of variables within which the referent of the concept is to be found (cf. the criticisms made by Cox, 1976 and Birch, 1978).

One of the common sources of unresolved controversies in this field is precisely a failure to specify the context within which a given generalization can be expected to hold true. To take an obvious but striking case, the changing permeability of the boundaries of nation-states to ideas, persons and weapons that affect internal ethnic relations is a fact of life that must be kept in the foreground in any analysis of a single national system (Said and Simmons, 1976, 1-24). Failures of specification may occur with regard to place, historical period (high or low immigration; prosperity or depression; war or peace, etc.), ethnic ecological concentration, length of residence, relationships among minorities, intragroup heterogeneity, and many other contextual variables (cf. Yancey, Erickson, Juliani, 1976). These errors are simply special cases of the more general defect of treating variables as if they were constants. The most dangerous case is to assume that "ethnicity" (or "race") is a fixed condition, when in fact the meaning and causal significance of any particular ethnic or racial category is always changing.

There is a clear need to move decisively away from ad hoc descriptions to the explicit, careful and routine use of well-defined variables that characterize important types of ethnic aggregates and collectivities and of the recurrent situations in which ethnically-conditioned behavior occurs. The necessary empirical knowledge is available -- much of it codified in critical summaries, in propositional inventories, and in proto-theoretical works. The sources include several of my own works from 1947 to 1979, and works by Blalock, E.K. Francis, Milton Gordon, Levine and Campbell, Pettigrew, Schermerhorn, van den Berghe, and others too numerous to list here. We know that ethnic "groups" should be classified according to whether the ethnic identification and organization is primary or secondary (derivative) and according to relative and absolute size, settlement patterns, class position, definiteness of boundaries, degree of closure, internal differentiation, and other well-known consequential characteristics (cf. Mullings, 1978). The nineteenth century image of an ethnic group as a self-contained, culturally unique, firmly bounded, small "total society" is almost wholly outmoded as a basis for analyzing modern ethnicity.

Observe the central proposal of Patterson in his careful review of research on slavery:

More important than the need for new techniques, however, is the need for new theoretical orientations. It is now time to move from purely monographic and descriptive studies toward the kind of work that pose issues germane to the institution of slavery, problems that can only be answered by a theoretically informed and methodologically comparative approach to the subject. [None of the crucial] questions can be answered by single-society, descriptive studies... (Patterson, 1977, 438-9).

Along with historical and comparative sources, the conceptual apparatus of the field can be usefully strengthened by drawing upon theory-building efforts in any subfield of sociology. For instance, suggestive implications for analyses of racial and ethnic relations come from a major effort to

construct a parsimonious account of how "inequality" and "heterogeneity" affect and are affected by other conditions of group structure (Blau, 1977a, 1977b). Special attention is given to group size, propinquity, inequality, heterogeneity, and the degree of independence or overlap of group-defining characteristics (parameters). Blau concludes, inter alia, that:

1. smaller groups have higher rates of intergroup associations;
2. majority-group discrimination against a minority reduces the difference between the majority's lower, and the minority's higher rate of intergroup associations;
3. inequality hinders and heterogeneity promotes intergroup interactions;
4. intersecting parameters favor high rates of intergroup association; cumulative (consolidated) characteristics favor low rates of such interaction.

Thus, "The more differentiation of any kind penetrates into the substructures of society, the greater is the probability that extensive social relations integrate various segments in society" (Blau, 1977a, 26).

In the ideal case, the process of developing an adequate explanation of a puzzling regularity in social behavior proceeds in a zig-zag manner. Initial investigation produces a variable or set of variables that empirically co-vary with X and are theoretically connected with it. Other studies identify different independent variables, and competing models develop. Subsequent research pits the alternatives against one another -- either in a "crucial test" case or in a cumulative pattern-search -- and the issue is tentatively resolved. Usually it is found that each of the competing accounts is valid, but that the explanatory power of some is superior to that of others. Examples of the process do exist. Thus, efforts to explain differences in political

participation between whites and blacks in the United States have developed three main explanations: (1) indirect effects, (2) isolation, (3) ethnic community, (Danigelis, 1978, 1977). The first holds that lower political participation by blacks is due to low SES, young age distribution, residence in the rural South, and low rates of participation in labor unions and voluntary associations. Because these conditions are highly correlated with "race", the racial differences in political participation are indirect consequences of the causally more direct influences. The model of racial isolation accepts the existence of the indirect effects but adds that racial discrimination isolates blacks from the opportunities, competencies, and motivations that are necessary for high political participation. The third model in contrast, posits that discrimination and other structural barriers produce ethnic cohesion and heightened political interest and activity.

Each of the proposed hypotheses is plausible and each is consistent with a substantial body of data. Yet the first account clearly is incomplete and the second and third explanations are partially contradictory. An obvious possible strategy is to seek to combine all three in a composite explanation which Danigelis (1978) calls a "political climate theory", i.e., whether the total sociocultural setting is repressive/intolerant or indifferent or supportive of black political participation. The new explanation is appraised by means of multivariate analysis of data from six elections, 1952-72. The results are highly complex. Predictions that were supported by the data were (1) that white-black differences in political activity would change over time and in different ways in the North and in the South, and (2) that early "isolation" of blacks in the South would change to "ethnic community" mobilization in the mid-1960s. The data suggest that the relative importance of the

three competing explanations varies with the type of political activity (e.g., visible and/or threatening to whites), varies over time (specific historical context), and differs as between North and South. The revised theory is more complex but also more specific and dynamic than any of the three explanatory accounts it subsumes.

The possibilities for improved conceptualizations depend upon close attention to the developing body of empirical materials -- for, "Detailed and precise knowledge of how the world works is the stuff of which genuine theories are made." At the same time continuing critical review of existing schemes is indispensable. Such conceptual reexamination has disclosed, for example, the varying applicability of several major frameworks to ethnic relations in different total contexts. Thus Barth and Noel (1972) have proposed that the "race-relations cycle" best fits the initial emergence of interethnic relations, "consensus" formulations are most suitable for problems of persistence, "structural interdependence" formulations for adaptive processes, and "conflict" [opposition; contradiction; incongruence] conceptualizations for hypotheses concerning change. Although there are unresolved problems in this proposal, it does illustrate the constructive possibilities for developing cumulative rather than topical, or faddish, interpretations.

3. Research methods

As the preceding sections indicate, the recurrent calls for cross-cultural, comparative, or cross-national research are well-founded: a necessary aim of a scientific sociology is to establish generalizations that transcend dated and localized descriptions and that are specified as to limits and necessary contexts, and these generalizations cannot be established or falsified solely on the basis of studies of a single culture or society (Prezeworski and

Teune, 1970). Yet the required studies entail difficult problems of methodology and encounter severe practical limitations. Comparability is a pervasive and elusive goal; the difficulties range from the wording of questions in a survey to the very definition of the basic concepts (e.g., ethnic group, tribe, power, consensus, conflict). In the actual conduct of research that involves cross national collaboration, the practical problems are numerous and often intractable. As Finley (1979, 6) notes:

In addition to the issues normally found in all collaborative research endeavors, cross-national projects commonly are faced with resolving such additional issues as: differences in value and belief systems; differing definitions of the research situation (e.g., the development of scientific knowledge versus immediate social problem solving); differing criteria for "quality" work; differing types of bureaucracies; language differences; differential behavioral sensitivities; differing definitions of "collaboration"; funding difficulties; and the unavailability of research sites with adequate facilities and trained personnel.

Nevertheless, rapid growth continues in the historical and cross-cultural documentation of diversity and complexity of ethnic groupings and of relationships among them. Since this author's last inventory of the field (Williams, 1975, 2), we have had many collections and symposia, e.g., on slavery and colonialism (Mintz, ed., 1975); on ethnicity in the United States (e.g., Greeley and Baum, eds., 1977; Lavender, ed., 1977; Obler and Glass, eds., 1977; Cafferty and Chestang, eds., 1976; Glazer and Moynihan, eds., 1975); on ethnicity in various nations (Despres, ed., 1975; Esman, ed., 1977; Greeley and Baum, eds., 1977; Heisler, ed., 1977 [*The Annals*, 433]; Said and Simmons, eds., 1976; Suhrke and Noble, eds., 1977; (2) critical summaries, e.g. Patterson, 1977; (3) monographs and books, e.g. ethnic plurality in India (Schermerhorn, 1978), conflict in Ulster (Fields, 1977; Terchek, 1977), ethnicity in the United States (Eisinger, 1978; Feagin, 1978; Gordon, 1978; Wilson, 1978; Patterson, 1977; Ransford, 1977; Williams, 1977; Pinkney, 1976 --

and many others).

The intensity of ideological controversy among sociologists concerning ethnicity is evident in the reviews of Patterson's Ethnic Chauvinism (1977) in Contemporary Sociology (July 1979). Patterson sees ethnic allegiance as primarily particularistic, narrow, rigid, collectivistic -- hence inherently opposed to individual freedom and universalism. This thesis is attacked on grounds of lack of empirical demonstration, i.e., it is denied that ethnic allegiance has the consequences claimed, or on the ground that ethnicity is always with us -- that pure "universalism" is not an attainable state of social being. Patterson sees class interests as more fundamental and realistic than ethnic interests -- the latter appear as a form of false consciousness, in this particular sense. Not ethnic solidarity but humanistic socialism is the best hope for the future. Typically works that thus combine explicit advocacy and sociological explanation receive evaluations in kind. Such evaluations only sometimes make explicit the methodological questions that are raised by marked differences in what is accepted as evidence and in how data are interpreted.

Mistaken diagnoses, when they do occur, often are strongly rooted in ideological distortions, both those that encourage wishful thinking and those that block-off or minimize a whole range of factors or contexts while bringing others into the focus of attention (cf. Lijphart in Esman, ed. 1977).

Clearly any claim to scholarly objectivity and inclusiveness or to scientific generality must rest upon a comprehensive examination of all types of actual historical cases. This assertion is trite but neither empty nor irrelevant. For example, it is possible to pay attention only to conflict and competition, not to accommodation and cooperation. One may closely examine

only the "winners" in ethnic struggles and transitions, failing to analyze the responses of the losers (cf. Eisinger, 1978, 217-18). Such selectivity may be unavoidable and proper in a single study; it is disastrous in a field as a whole. The total spectrum must be analyzed (cf. Williams, 1977); peaceful processes of accommodation are no less worthy of attention than civil turmoil. Valuable clues for social policy can be gained from careful documentation and analysis, such as Eisinger's studies of the peaceful transition from Old Yankee to Irish political dominance in Boston (1978) and of contemporary transitions to black control of city governments (Eisinger, 1976; Obler and Glass, eds., 1977).

Underlying many divergencies in interpretation is the extent to which generalizations are based on highly aggregated or finely partitioned data.

Overaggregation of available data is a chronic problem, often unavoidable. Nevertheless, the need to disaggregate such diverse conglomerations as "white population" is evident. Illustration of its importance are provided by 1. evidence that interethnic differences in educational attainment in New York City are greater than white-nonwhite differences (Rosenwaike 1973), and 2. educational attainments of children of southern and northern born blacks in the North are substantially different. Statistical controls for generation (and rural-urban background) appear essential for locating sources of variance within the black population (Lieberman 1973). Misleading inferences are likely with highly aggregated comparisons, e.g. a "rise" in income among blacks in the North might simply reflect a decrease of unskilled immigrants from the South (Williams, 1975a, 152-3).

Broad implications occasionally seem to be drawn from a few dramatic events or salient features of public life. The alleged extent of ethnic influences in American political life may be a case in point. For the mere existence of highly vocal and politically prominent ethnic spokespersons and organizations gives no ground to infer actual political influence. Indeed, the broad question, "Are ethnic influences important in determining governmental policies?" is essentially unanswerable. More specific queries may yield some limited

answers. Thus it is a reasonable conclusion that in the period since 1950 or so "...ethnic group influence on American policy toward East Central Europe has been minimal" (Garrett, 1978, 307). Primary among conditions accounting for this state of affairs are (1) the diversity of ethnic views, and (2) the strength of nonethnic interest groups. Without a multivariate and contextual approach such interpretations may not be found.

Illustrations of the empirical and theoretical importance of specific methodological developments are numerous. Many ethnic-racial relationships centrally involve questions of equity, back of which are questions concerning the character and extent of inequalities. Proper analysis has been hampered not only by the quality and quantity of relevant data but also by diversity of indicators and by uncertainty concerning the properties of indexes and methods of using them in analysis. Considerable recent progress has been made in the task of evaluating measures of inequality -- specifically the Gini index, the standard deviation and the coefficient of variation, and Theil's measure (Allison, 1978). In general, Allison concludes, the latter two measures are superior to the Gini index; Theil's measure is preferable for distributions of income or other social rewards or facilities that exhibit diminishing marginal utility; the coefficient of variation is suitable for other variables where "flat" sensitivity across the range of values is desirable (Allison, 1978, 877).

The importance of somehow appropriately fitting the techniques and models to the conceptual schemes and hypotheses, and vice versa, is readily granted by nearly all investigators. But deciding in detail in specific cases just what is "appropriate" is a complex and often ambiguous problem and a fertile source of methodological controversy (Stolzenberg and D'Amico, 1977; Spilerman

and Miller, 1977).

The high importance of study design and research techniques is clear in the sharp divergence of interpretations as to whether white workers gain economically from discrimination against nonwhites (see Szymanski, 1976).

It is difficult to properly reflect in any single index the extremely complex patterns of geographic dispersion and clustering of ethnically-distinguished populations. Improvements in the index, e.g., the commonly used D (index of dissimilarity), can increase the possibilities for theoretically significant comparisons among real units and over time (Cortese, Falk, Cohen, 1976, 630), although thus far few important findings seem to have been significantly affected in this particular case (Taeuber and Taeuber, 1976), partly because the index has not seriously misled the investigators who have used it with awareness of its limitations.

The important yield of new findings that can come from sophisticated use of regression techniques is apparent in many studies. Perhaps a prototype is the series of articles on the urban civil disorders of the 1960s by Spilerman (e.g., 1976). In contradiction of much "commonsense," the analysis shows that strictly local conditions have little predictive value, aside from the size of the black population, but that regional location and time-period have massive effects, e.g., the decreasing severity of successive outbreaks, the upsurge after the assassination of Dr. Martin Luther King, and the rising frequency of Southern disorders in the latter years of the decade.

4. Development of empirical generalizations

Part of the necessary work-load of research in this field is to make continuing inventories and appraisals of changes in the position of various ethnic categories in the social structure. Since change or the lack of it is

a matter of theoretical importance and often has political and ideological significance, such appraisals are subject to immediate, and often heated, criticism. The indicators of change are numerous, the conditions indexed are quite complex, the data vary greatly in reliability, validity, and generality. Disagreements concerning findings, accordingly, are frequent and typically generate at least as much heat as light.

For all these reasons, assessments of change and stability need to be methodologically sophisticated and theoretically and empirically well-grounded. Fortunately, the level of skill and awareness in the best of such studies continues to rise. Appraisals of the changes in the economic and political position of blacks in the 1960s to 1970s are careful to disaggregate the data for subgroupings (Farley, 1977). Thus, it has been shown that, overall, the gains of the 1960s were not lost in the 1970s -- contrary to many public claims. Racial differences continued to narrow in the 1970s, e.g., in years of school completed, in occupational status, in political representation in decision-making, in the incomes received by black women. A constant income gap between black and white families is primarily due to the large increase in the proportion of female-headed households among blacks. On the other hand, unemployment for black men is high, especially among young men, and the income gap between white and black men remains large (Farley, 1977, 206).

Careful and detailed studies during the 1970s have increasingly specified the similarities and differences in the occupational and income positions of blacks and whites in the United States (e.g., Kluegel, 1978; Hogan and Featherman, 1977; Bonacich, 1976; Featherman and Hauser, 1976; Johnson and Sell, 1976; Haworth et al., 1975; Stolzenberg, 1975. An addition to the usual list of positional characteristics studied is authority or position in an organizational

hierarchy. Analysis of two samples from the state of Wisconsin (Kluegel, 1978) shows that differences between whites and blacks in job authority are only moderately accounted for by initial differences in education. Much of the recent improvement in the job status of blacks represents movement into better-paying blue collar jobs, but these jobs offer few possibilities for promotion into supervisory positions. Also, blacks are less often in positions of authority even in jobs that potentially can lead to such positions. Low participation in supervisory positions results in an income decrement, and if promotion to authority-positions does occur, blacks receive less income return than whites for increases in job authority.

An unanswered question in all studies of such differences between ethnic categories is the extent to which unmeasured differences in skills and motivations may affect the measured outcomes.

The effects of structural constraints increasingly are being investigated. A recent study reports that earnings of both black and white workers are higher in areas of high "export" productivity and lower where residential segregation is great; earnings of blacks are low where black population is concentrated (while incomes of whites in these areas are higher than elsewhere). These relationships hold even when individual background factors are controlled; "regional labor market characteristics are statistically significant predictors of earnings for black and whites" (Parcel, 1979, 273).

Cross-classification sometimes can be considered most usefully as a form of disaggregation of data and, thereby a means of disentangling the confounding of race or ethnicity with correlated conditions. A case in point is the cross tabulation of occupations and racial category against the index of residential dissimilarity (Simkus, 1978). Comparing the same urbanized areas for 1960

and 1970, the analysis shows very high stability in both racial and occupational segregation by residential areas (census tracts), in spite of the massive changes of urban expansion and suburbanization. Consistent changes in occupational segregation (slight increases) were found only among whites. Overall, the modest decreases in racial segregation were concentrated among nonwhites in the highest occupational categories, especially among nonwhite professionals (Simkus, 1978, 90).

Much of the evidence adduced to support recently widespread emphases on ethnic solidarity in the United States has come from studies of particular ethnic communities. Evidences of continuity and social closure sometimes then have been taken as indicators of the society-wide persistence of a mosaic of unmeltable ethnic segments. In contrast, Alba (1976) shows national trends toward increasing social assimilation among the various national-origin segments of the Catholic population. The power of systematic analysis of national data is clearly demonstrated by the finding that ethnic segregation at the level of primary social networks (intermarriage; mixed ethnic origins) is consistently decreasing.

Evidence of both reciprocity and asymmetry in inter-ethnic attitudes continues to accumulate (Brewer and Campbell, 1976; Berry, Kalin, Taylor, 1977). A 1974 national survey in Canada showed that "groups tended to reflect the attitude held toward them back onto the group holding the attitude," a tendency that is limited by the fact that positive attitudes are concentrated on ingroups and positive reference groups (Berry and Kalin, 1979). Widespread consensus upon common rankings produced asymmetry in the relations between specific groupings; but as between any two groupings, there is also a strong tendency for balance or reciprocity in mutual ratings of attraction (Berry and Kalin, 1979, 110).

Solidarity across groups each of which finds its internal unity primarily in a sense of unique racial identity or ethnic character obviously is difficult to achieve or maintain on a cultural basis. Unity, if attained at all, must come from common political objectives, (cf. Adam, 1971, 161), such as the "class" issues of unemployment, income inequality, participation in decision-making.

In the absence of "objective," universally accepted standards that could define a fair or equitable distribution of scarce values among racial and ethnic collectivities, struggles over allocations and distributions easily escalate into confrontations of raw power. Resolutions of such conflicts will be facilitated if the parties can find prominent social "markers," similar to gross physical features, that point to easily understood rules of division (cf. Schelling, 1960). The most obvious marker apparently is the proportion of each ethnic element in the population.

The impassioned political threats and claims and the collective violence that characterized reactions of many whites in the South to the early phases of school desegregation misled many "pop"-sociology commentators into believing that hardening resistance would be the outcome of increased pressure to desegregate. It is salutary to remember that the Gallup Opinion Index (1976: 9) showed that the proportion of white Southern parents who objected to sending their children to a school where a few of the children were black was 61% in 1963 -- and 15% in 1976. Further evidence that direct involvement in compliance with the law leads to favorable attitudes rather than to hardened resistance continues to accumulate. Thus in Milwaukee, before-and-after studies show that parents with children in public schools became more accepting, whereas persons without children in school became less accepting, and those

with children in parochial schools became most resistant to desegregation (Jacobson, 1978).

In an analysis of 1,600 schools in 50 districts of Southern SMSAs, Giles (1978) investigated the relationship between proportion of blacks enrolled and changes in the enrollment of whites, in particular schools as well as in districts taken as wholes. The study found that changes in white enrollments subsequent to desegregation by districts were "substantively trivial" in size and concluded that "white withdrawals are not an inevitable result of desegregation" (Giles, 1978, 854). Withdrawals of whites in districts with initial enrollments less than 30 percent black were minor and not correlated with proportion black. Among districts with more than 30 percent black pupils, white withdrawals were strongly associated with higher levels of black enrollments; but the association diminished in 1972 and 1974 as compared with 1968-72. For individual schools, the findings are less clear: no variable or set of variables used in the study explains more than 10 percent of the variance in white enrollments; the association between proportion black and decrease in white enrollment is curvilinear, similar to that for districts. In sum: "Despite the consistency of these findings, only a small percentage of the variance in white enrollment at the school level was explained by the percent black enrollment" (Giles, 1978, 863).

Simplistic views of effects of school or residential desegregation upon the movement of white populations to suburbs should be decisively rejected on the basis of accumulated critical work and new analyses - see, for example, Frey, 1979.

Political activation and mobilization of ethnic groupings may or may not be part of a more general process of social mobilization, in which previously

inarticulate, insulated or passive social formations begin to actively seek influence and power. In the United States, such "social mobilization" occurs as a complex resultant of higher incomes, rising education, geographic mobility, urban residence, industrial and commercial employment, high rates of public communication, exposure to mass media, and rapid social change. The accompanying growth in the proportion of politically attentive persons involves rising expectations and claims upon the political system for protecting and advancing individual and group interests (cf. Deutsch, 1961). The societal characteristics most closely associated with a higher degree of social mobilization are also associated with a high degree of institutionalization of political organization and procedures. Institutionalization produces large complex, autonomous, unitary, and relatively stable organizations and units of executive, legislative, and political party functioning. A major outcome is a substantial diversification of power and increased provisions for access of citizens to government. Indeed, across 115 nations there is high correlation ($R = .98$) between "citizen influence" and 14 indices of socioeconomic "modernity" or development (Olsen, 1968).

Continuing confrontation with categorical discrimination is especially likely to aid political mobilization when (a) a general improvement in economic and social conditions has raised hopes, (b) the majority-group opposition appears divided or weak, (c) a middle stratum of ethnic leadership has developed. In terms of conventional political participation, the most plausible prediction is that ethnic voting will be strongest only after ethnic-members appear as candidates -- usually only after a middle-income, middle-education leadership has appeared. Thus, it is not enough to have cultural similarities and a

diffuse sense of common fate and ethnic membership; these become politically salient when a leadership "cadre" develops that links ethnic interests to political parties and movements (Segal, 1974: 68).

When ethnic mobilization is so continuous and pervasive that nearly all political struggle is conceived of and actually organized in ethnic terms one has a plural -- rather than a pluralistic -- society. The restructuring of politics along ethnic lines has occurred in many post-colonial nations once the common opponent of the metropolitan power had been overthrown or ejected. Resurgent ethnic "nationalisms" have appeared in highly industrialized Western democracies: French Canadians in Quebec; Walloons and Flemings in Belgium; Scots and Welsh in Great Britain; Blacks, Chicanos, Native Americans and others in the United States; even in Switzerland, in the continuing Jura dispute in Bern. A notable feature of nearly all cases has been the rising levels of affluence, education and political potential of the mobilizing minorities (Enloe, 1973). In nearly all cases, the agitation for ethnic mobilization has been led by a 'cultural elite' that emphasizes an ethnic distinctiveness that would redound to the benefit of members of that elite should it become the basis of political authority or influence. In a newly bilingual society, for example, an elite from the subordinate linguistic group is likely to reap many advantages in education, government and business (Pill, 1974).

If the composite interests of an ethnic collectivity are to be effectively expressed through interest-group politics, there must be some appreciable unity within the collectivity: incompatible aims and multiplicity of organizations and spokesmen are detrimental to political influence. Ethnic leaders are likely to have a concern for internal politics -- the compromising and integration of interests and objectives within the ethnic boundaries -- if only as a precondition for effective pressure and bargaining (cf. Holden, 1973).

The internal characteristics of an ethnic collectivity will influence the ways in which its members seek the rewards they perceive in the larger society of which the collectivity is a part. For example:

1. Other things not counteracting the effect, any decrease in individualized competition (for extra-group rewards) among the members of a disadvantaged stratum or ethnic segment will reduce distrust among members of the stratum or grouping and will increase the likelihood of ingroup solidarity.

2. The same effects will result from any decrease in individualized aggression against persons and property within the stratum or segment, e.g., a reduction in intragroup crime will increase the level of social trust and facilitate ingroup identification and cooperation.

3. The greater the extent to which the rewards and deprivations of individuals within a disadvantaged social formation are, in fact, categorically assigned by non-members on the basis of membership, the more likely is a sense of common fate and of fraternal deprivation.

The greater the degree to which the conditions described in the preceding propositions are found, the more likely it will be that attempts of individual members to enhance their own position will become collectivity-oriented rather than individual-oriented, e.g., the greater will the emphasis on political rather than economic means. Accordingly, social policies that categorically discriminate against all members of a minority will have the effect in the long run of increasing the cohesion and enhancing the power-orientation of the minority and, especially, of its leaders (Segal, 1974: 70).

Political processes always are more nearly understandable when we can see them in relation to the main types of interest-substrata in the society. In the United States, such "latent interest groupings" are numerous and highly

diverse: occupations, regions, sections, religious bodies and communities, prestige-classes, ethnic groupings, ideological movements, and so on. The overt struggles and conflicts of the society do not always occur along the same lines of cleavage, but change from one historical period to another. It is enough to recognize that: (1) every major distinctive social formation is a potential partisan; (2) wherever decisions are made, there influence will be brought to bear. Alignments based on ethnic solidarity wax and wane. The present circumstances are not permanent, although ethnicity will be one important basis of political processes for the foreseeable future.

Some estimate of the extent of ethnic and racial conflict is needed to place the matter in appropriate perspective, relative to other forms of social conflict. The available data are quite imprecise, but are sufficient to show that ethnic conflicts are of major importance.

One estimate suggests that worldwide 20 to 30 percent of all domestic violence in 1961-65 was between ethnic groups, and another source calculates that the sum of fatalities in ethnic hostilities during the 1945-70 period exceeded 10 million (Hewitt, 1977, 151).

Many ethnic relations thus involve substantial collective conflicts (Heisler, ed. 1977). Continuing efforts have been made to analyze aggregated data in order to identify factors associated with the location of such conflicts in place (Jobu, 1978; Spilerman, 1970, 1971; Downes, 1968) and in time (Lieberson and Silverman, 1965; Spilerman, 1976). Recently, increased attention has been given to the processes of social interaction (including mass communication and "imitation") that may lead to collective violence. At least some kinds of collective violence are distributed over time in a pattern that is consistent with instigating or reinforcing and inhibiting events -- specifically, successful models vs. knowledge of defeat, condemnation, and punishment (Pitcher, Hamblin, Miller, 1978).

Where highly structured conflicts emerge, ethnic clusterings become real social units -- collectivities, or "organizations" rather than mere social categories or aggregates. Only when there is enough structure to allow mobilization of resources (McCarthy and Zald, 1977) can diffuse aspirations and discontents be transformed into collective grievances, claims, protests, and conflicts. For example, the forms of protest depend upon both the organization of the state and of the partisan contenders. The historical patterns of domestic violence in Europe have been decisively shaped by the resources available to central states, and "reactive" protests defending established rights were replaced by "proactive" claims to new rights, as political centralization accompanied industrialization (Tilly, Tilly, Tilly, 1975). Or again to illustrate the point, small ethnic minorities that are geographically concentrated and well-organized have a certain political advantage in that their demands can be met with minimal effect on the remainder of the nation (Schermerhorn, 1978, 129).

Collective violence between ethnic groupings -- or derived from ethnic relations -- is not randomly or capriciously distributed among national societies. There are consistent and marked differences between societies that experience high levels of such violence and societies that have less frequent and less severe ethnic violence. Taking 19 societies that have stable, clear and salient ethnic cleavages between a majority and one or more minorities, Hewitt (1977) finds that the violent societies show great economic and political inequality, large minority groupings that are growing relative to the majority, and marked political differences concerning the constitution of the state (e.g., separatism, union with a "parent" society). Low violence societies have demographic stability and approximate economic parity among ethnic segments and

the minorities are politically well-represented or have substantial autonomy under federalism.

Can useful implications be drawn from the kinds of studies just reviewed? Studies of conflict resolution and management, once very rare in sociology, now appear in increasing numbers (cf. references in Williams, 1977). Considerable help in this area comes from history and political science. To take only one of many recent examples, Levine points out (1977, 62) that although Calhoun's doctrine of the concurrent majority is overly simple it does formulate a basic principle for managing conflicts of regionalized subcultures, i.e.:

...in societies with intense and politicized subcultural cleavages, institutional arrangements which guarantee minority access to decision making and provide effective modes of minority self-protection facilitate the handling of emotionally and symbolically loaded subcultural issues (such as schools, language use, abolition or extension of slavery) in a technical, incremental, and essentially negotiable fashion.

Normative prescriptions for political institutions and practices based on the Calhounian insights include:

... (1) application of the principle of proportionality in political representation and resource allocation; (2) "all parties" government, in which minority subcultures are invited to share power; (3) concurrent majorities or minority vetoes; and (4) subcultural autonomy in specific policy making and administrative areas (Levine, 1977, 61).

5. Needed developments in theory and research

When we attempt to think of what is most needed to improve the generation of reliable knowledge, it is difficult to develop prescriptions that are either new or surprising. Several years ago we said:

Further systematic mapping of the entire range of independent, intervening, and dependent variables is essential for cumulation of research findings in a form suitable for building theories. Many of the inconclusive and contradictory results of past research derive from lack of clear specification of the triad of (a) concepts, (b) indicators of the conceptualized variables, and (c) hypothesized relationships among the selected variables (linear or curvilinear, additive or multiplicative, etc). Specification of concepts requires both clear definitions

and locating each in relation to other concepts. A mishmash of unordered ecological, psychological, social, and cultural factors no longer can be allowed to pass muster as the starting point for research. The reason for this dictum is not merely a preference for neatness and conceptual economy, but the imperative of discovering networks of causal relationships (Williams, 1975a, 127).

All of these points have been touched upon in the present review. A few additional examples may be useful.

Studies of differences between white and black individuals and families have tended to focus either upon (1) ascribed status and associated socialization or "investments" (human capital factors of education, job experience, mobility and the like), or (2) structural factors such as occupational competition-vs. segregation, or differing industry and area labor markets. It would be strange indeed were not both sets of factors influential in determining the socioeconomic positions of individuals (Parcel, 1979).

To the extent that the conventional ethnic or racial categories are internally differentiated, valid analysis must take the internal diversity into account. For the black population of the United States, the evidence of recently increased differentiation is clear.

In all, changes over the recent decade [1962-1973] have supported the internal differentiation of the black population, the development of more distinct socioeconomic strata, the greater stability of inequalities between generations of black men, and gains toward socioeconomic integration. These changes have been more characteristic of the North than of the South (Hogan and Featherman, 1977, 100).

Several generations of work should have impressed upon us the hazards of relying upon second-hand testimony to infer intergroup relations. It is easy to find agreement with the dictum that we need direct and systematic observation of social interaction in realistic situations, but it is rare to find the required work. Fortunately, some recent research is helping to correct the past imbalances, e.g., observational studies of segregated and desegregated

schools (Rist, 1978, 1973).

To say that there is a continuing need for better indicators of key concepts is the blandest of platitudes. Nevertheless, the point deserves repeated emphasis, for many inconclusive and contradictory findings as well as run-on theoretical controversies can be traced in part to the indicators used in research. For example, the simple fact that indicators of surrogate variables are given natural-language names sometimes misleads even sophisticated investigators. One thinks of the early research on "racial identifications" and "self-esteem" -- based on choices of dolls by children (cf. Hraba, 1972; J.D.R. Porter, 1971), or level of past civil strife as an indicator of "cultural justifications for violence" (Gurr, 1970).

We now have a clearly articulated theoretical issue in the controversies about the empirical weight to be attached to the content of the culture of an ethnic^{group} as over against structural constraints and opportunities that are hypothesized to account for stability or change of that content (Yancey, Ericksen, Juliani, 1977; Williams, 1974). The most important structural conditions maintaining ethnic distinctiveness are said to include intergroup conflict, institutionalized discrimination, ecological concentration and stability, concentration in distinctive occupations, dependence upon common institutions and services. Efforts to measure variations in ethnicity in relation to variations in such conditions could produce highly significant new knowledge. It is not beyond our reach to gain some answers to what Richard Lambert calls "the most fundamental questions of all. [That is:] Why are ethnic groups and the conflicts they engender so difficult to categorize and analyze, yet so durable and pervasive? Why has the peculiar mixture of blood, religion, language, and territory been so lasting and so potent a force in our own and

others' history? (Lambert, 1977, viii).

An essential first step toward conceptual clarification would seem obvious from any view that accords reality to social structure, i.e., that all major collectivities and larger social systems will have multiple lines of social cleavage and cohesion. The most prominent and enduring of these lines are those signalized by age, sex, kinship, occupation, class, religion, region or locality, and ethnicity. One should never assume that ethnicity operates alone. Along with age, sex, kinship and local community, ethnic collectivities and relationships are primary ascriptive bases of social organization (Parsons, 1951). Further, ethnicity is likely to be strongly confounded with occupation, class, and religious affiliation. Every analysis that seeks to appraise the "importance" of ethnic factors, therefore, must be multivariate, contextual, and systemic. As we have said before:

Theories in this field attempt to explain those complex repeated patterns that we call social processes and social structures. It is logically impossible that the dependent variables of interest can be fully explained by a single variable or explanatory concept (cf. Cook 1970: 179-81). Always doomed, therefore, are "theories" that deal solely with equal-status contact, relative deprivation, grievance level, critical mass, frustration-discontent, or power struggle -- much less with such global concepts as "racism," neocolonialism, or plural societies (Williams, 1975a, 153).

Controversies continue to abound concerning the relative causal importance of "race" or "ethnic origin" versus social class (as a position in the structure of economic production). Thus Stolzenberg (1975, 1973) estimates that incomes of blacks in nearly one half of specific occupational categories represent rates of return to education higher than for whites -- in seeming contradiction to several prior studies. Subsequently Wright (1978), using national survey data, concludes that returns to education are essentially similar for whites and blacks within class positions (except for managerial positions); the study

infers that "much of the commonly observed racial differences in returns to education is a consequence of the distribution of racial groups into class categories" (Wright, 1978, 1368). The complex and often "contradictory" effects of the interplay between racial/ethnic divisions and class/occupational cleavages are apparent.

Once again, detailed disaggregation of the data -- as well as critical attention to the specific indicators and methods of analysis -- is indispensable for valid appraisals. Such a specific, analytic, approach can help to clarify the controversy that has surrounded Wilson's The Declining Significance of Race. Despite the author's explicit qualifications and specifications, some critics seem to miss one of the author's central points: that both racial discrimination and class position importantly affect life-chances and that it is the changing character of the interaction of the two structural conditions that is critical for understanding the present situation. The increasing differentials within the black population in income, education, occupation prestige, and power-authority seem clear beyond dispute. That past institutionalized racism has powerfully shaped these differentials is equally plain, as is the fact that large average inter-racial differentials continue to exist. What Wilson argues is only that economic class has become more important than race in determining job placement and occupational mobility, as signaled by the growth of a black middle class concurrently with the crystallization of a disproportionately large black underclass, which shares with poor whites a marginal and redundant position in the secondary labor market (Wilson, 1978, esp. 150-4).

Neither the concept of external nor of internal colonialism fits precisely the large-scale development of international migrant worker populations, now

estimated to number 20-30 millions in Western Europe alone. Such workers are recruited through governmental agreement, concentrated in low-income jobs and industries, subject to strict legal control, and are socially ostracized and discriminated against (cf. Abadan-Unat et al., 1976). This "proletariat on loan" can be called in when needed, sent back when not; the ghettos are located abroad, and the host society takes little or no responsibility for the workers in times of economic adversity (Benard, 1978, 298-9). Cultural marginality and social disruption apparently are frequent. Marked differences in policies are found among the receiving nations, resulting in sharp divergencies in degree of stability and of cultural assimilation.

The tendency to deal in dichotomies of explanatory factors - class vs. race, status vs. power, primordial vs. reactive ethnicity - is tempting, often productive of useful hypotheses and theories - and almost always ultimately erroneous or misleading. The fatal flaw emerges when each half of the pair is treated as if it were an exclusive or at least overwhelmingly dominant explanation. Thus, the argument over whether Celtic sectionalism in Great Britain is due to class-affinity (developmental) or status-affinity (reactive ethnicity) is partly resolved by the finding that political behavior responds strongly to both factors:

...the analysis of Conservative votes supports the theory of reactive ethnic cleavages, while the analysis of Labour votes supports the developmental perspective (Ragin, 1977, 438).

Given Hechter's argument (1975) that ethnic cohesiveness may emerge from the highlighting of cultural distinctiveness in relation to economic differentiation and stratification, one would suppose that the interplay of economic positions and cultural affiliations is exactly the place to look for the sources of politically-relevant group identifications and solidarities. And, indeed, a

reasonable next step is to further refine the hypothesis by proposing that "in economically peripheral areas, an appeal to regional or 'ethnic' interests by the local dominant strata may be provoked by local class cleavages" (Ragin, 1977, 438).

In the arena of policy-related research on desegregation, Crain (1979: 553-9) has outlined four lines of work that he regards as greatly needed: 1) analysis of the effects of segregation and desegregation of housing and schools on other aspects of society; 2) the relation of desegregation/segregation to patterns of urban growth; 3) explanation of attitudes of white people toward busing; 4) an intensive effort to analyze "what schools should do to make desegregation work." At last a part of what Crain asks for has been assembled in Mutual Accommodation (Williams, 1977, esp. Chapters 3, 4, and 12), and other parts are present in the literature here under review, e.g., Simkus, 1978; Giles, 1978. What has been done, however, is only a small part of the potentially useful and technically feasible research that would have substantial practical as well as scientific value.

There is every reason to expect sound contributions to systematic knowledge from policy-oriented research if it is designed to link into a dynamic social-system model. Thus, in analyses of political conflict-management there is a crucial need for theory and research to join in specifying "...what institutional arrangements and political practices at what stage of cleavage politicization are most effective in managing conflicts involving regional subcultures. Continued theoretical efforts combined with systematic empirical analysis of cases of conflict regulation success and failure are needed before truly adequate models are generated" (Levine, 1977, 72).

One conceivable line of development that has many attractions would be

to make the field of "race and ethnic relations" disappear -- by analyzing all its structural units and relations into generic processes, e.g., those common to all collectivities. Names, dates, and particular places would become irrelevant. This elegant scientific aspiration is unlikely to be realized in any future short enough to be of real interest to us. We are likely to retain many relatively concrete historical units and relationships and objects of study, although increasingly ethnic structures will be treated in combination with other structural units, e.g., social classes.

The underlying dilemma in this case is the classic choice between a search for timeless scientific principles versus an attempt to capture something close to the perceived historical complexity. When we are resolutely analytical, we choose to work with a few variables in narrowly specified context. When we try to establish "policy-relevant" findings, we usually are compelled to take into account many variables and a complex set of specific parameters. These two styles of work overlap, of course, with those of "testing hypotheses" versus "accounting for variance."

6. Promising directions for further work

Some of the dicta one feels impelled to state seem redundant, since they simply represent general sociological platitudes applied to the special area of ethnic studies. Item 1: all social relationships are (at the least) two-sided; hence, study of any relationship between two groupings should analyze the behavior toward, and influence on, each by the other, (cf. Berry and Kalin, 1979) including the basic contingencies always generated by interaction. Item 2: every single relationship between two social units is affected by relationships to other units; all relationships are embedded in networks (Williams, 1977). Hence, not just majority-minority relations but interminority relations

must be analyzed (cf. Willie, 1977). Item 3: all large collectivities and social categories are internally differentiated and heterogeneous; hence no ethnic grouping should be treated as if it were a monolithic entity. Item 4: ethnic categories and groupings often have boundaries that are vague or ambiguous or both and that change, sometimes quite rapidly, over time and from one situation to another (LeVine and Campbell, 1972).

It seems to me difficult to improve upon Selznick's 1959 comments (made in reviewing March, Simon and Guetzkow's Organizations) as to some essential steps for developing good theory.

What we need is a clearer view of the differences among (1) postulates representing knowledge established in fields outside the subject-matter being studied, (2) universal propositions warranted by a complex theoretical ground and, usually, by quite indirect empirical confirmation, and (3) empirical generalizations. In addition we need to distinguish generalizations about formal properties of systems from generalizations about antecedent conditions and determinate outcomes (Selznick, 1959, 912):

We agree with the essential point made by Przeworski and Teune (1970, 134):

What is important in comparative research is the exchange of findings-replicative testing of the same theories in varying social contexts. When the findings are similar, evidence accumulates to support their generality... When findings are different, we need to explain those differences. The first step is to test the "equivalence" of measurement statements. If this attempt to account for differences fails, what we need to do is control for theoretically significant system-level differences that can be expressed as variables.

A major advantage of comparative studies is to expose the limited generality of some empirical findings that otherwise might lead to unwarranted inferences (cf. Inkeles and Smith, 1974); a good example is supplied by work on hypotheses concerning "middleman minorities" (Aldrich and Reiss, 1976; Aldrich, 1979), or the efforts to determine how the characteristics of historical ethnic heritages may affect contemporary patterns of behavior (Schooler, 1976).

It is necessary only to add that:

Progress in comparative work depends crucially upon access to

comparable data, but even that will not help greatly unless "comparative" ceases to mean merely "juxtaposed" or talked about together." More rigorous theoretical specifications must show what units and contexts really are structurally similar or different and what processes and sequences can be meaningfully compared. As one step in this process, a need has been identified for critical study of "exceptional cases" of visible and vulnerable ethnic minorities that have not been subjected to organized conflict or political efforts to evict or dislocate... (Williams, 1975, 153).

To raise refutable assertions is a central part of the ordinary scientific work-load. Accordingly it is a welcome sign of vitality when we find newly formulated predictive hypotheses. Among others, we note these examples (Cross, 1978, 40-43) regarding ethnic salience;

If the rate of economic growth declines, ethnic identity will become more salient.

If political change becomes more likely, then the salience of ethnic identity will increase.

If spatial mobility of one ethnic group into the territory of the other increases, then ethnic salience will rise.

If social mobility of one ethnic group into the occupational domain of the other rises, then ethnic salience will rise.

From the same source (Cross, 1978, 43) we have these assertions concerning ethnic allegiance:

[If the members of an ethnic group] perceive a political interest in common, the intensity of ethnic allegiance will rise.

[If the members of an ethnic group] perceive an economic interest in common, the intensity of ethnic allegiance will rise.

If perceived inequalities between the core and the periphery rise, then ethnic allegiance will become more intense.

On the basis of these suppositions, Cross predicts a decrease in attachment to ethnic identities when internal colonialism decreases (e.g., in a colony during a period of nationalism leading to independence); and a relatively low level of ethnic salience under conditions of sustained economic growth.

For many problems of analysis in this field there are clear and important advantages to be gained from the use of "... contextual models which retain the individual as the unit of analysis while incorporating independent variables from both the individual and the ecological levels of analysis" (Parcel, 1979, 264). Of course, a practical difficulty of substantial importance is that the available data often do not permit the ready linkage of micro- and macrolevel information. Thus, data for "ecological" units such as SMSAs often cannot be matched with important characteristics of individuals such as education or prior employment history (Parcel, 1979, 263).

It would seem evident that a suitable remedy for the artificial separation of "macro" and "micro" problems is the use of "...contextual models which retain the individual [or small group] as the unit of analysis while incorporating independent variables from both the individual and the ecological levels of analysis" (Parcel, 1979, 264). Such models permit control of one set of variables while analyzing correlates or effects of the other.

A recent illustration of contextual analysis, from studies of nonethnic conflict shows that industrial conflict as indexed by strike activity is directly and positively related to employment concentration in a few establishments (within each metropolitan area). But absentee ownership and industrial specialization have only indirect effects through their influence on the pattern of unionization -- which, in turn, affects strikes. The greater the extent of unionization, the greater is the frequency of strikes, but not their duration or magnitude. In contrast, a high concentration of workers in a few large unions produces fewer strikes but strikes that are larger and longer in duration (Lincoln, 1978).

When unionization is low and union power is decentralized, the effect of employment concentration on strike activity is greatest. When unions are strong

and centralized and employment is concentrated, the outcome is a marked lowering of strike activity -- the two factors together have a disproportionately large effect. A plausible interpretation of the latter finding is that a concentration of large unions and large employers within the boundaries of a single metropolitan area tends to lead to a "ritualized" pattern of bargaining in which strikes are "symbolic and infrequent" (Lincoln, 1978, 217).

As our examples suggest, we are recommending the explicit analysis of multivariate relationships within societies and other collectivities that are specified as dynamic systems. This means that complex structural features will be identified, that attention will be given to both order and disorder, that both consensus and dissensus and conflict and harmony will be studied. It means also that behavior will be studied over time, so that sequences and feedbacks can be analyzed (cf. Richmond, 1978). We emphasize that these apparently simple prescriptions do not signify merely the evocative use of analogies ("colonialism," "nationalism"), nor merely the loose use of system-language without systematic data.

Because of the importance and salience of competition and conflict in interethnic relations, the study of racial and ethnic relations often must draw upon and contribute to more general analyses and theories concerning the sources and consequences of these fundamental social processes (Kriesberg, 1973; Williams, 1975a, 1977). We do find that some theory-building concerning ethnic relations draws upon game theory and interest-group concepts to develop rational-instrumental models; other models focus attention upon values, beliefs and ideologies that are embedded in persisting collectivities and social relationships. Whether "interests" or "values" are treated as more central cross-cuts an "individual actor/collectivity" dichotomy. A third line of distinction

appears between models that infer consequences directly from social structures and those that postulate a problematic intervening set of processes of collective awareness, mobilization, and organized action. A fourth component results from looking for explanatory variables in aggregated "tensions", i.e., individual psychological states and processes (frustration, deprivation, envy, outrage) versus focusing upon power-struggles, in which mass attitudes are seen as largely irrelevant (cf. Williams, 1976).

The overlapping and criss-crossing of these four sets of distinctions is adequate to generate many complex and often ambiguous interpretations.

An "adequate" set of theoretical formulations surely will have to incorporate all of the perspectives just listed. The typical route by which the perspectives have developed is that after Model A has been presented, critics advance Model B as a contender to destroy Model A. Eventually, however, one of two things happens: both views are incorporated in another formulation, Model C, or persisting "schools" engage in protracted controversy over the merits of their respective choices. If interest is maintained in explaining phenomena at the original level of complexity and organization, more and more concepts -- and hence, variables and their interrelationships -- will have to be added to the total scheme in successive revisions. Presumably there is no obvious or definitive point at which the process will stop.

Many discussions in this field thus bemoan the sorry state of "theory" or imply that there is no theory worthy of the name. The word "theory", of course, can be made to mean whatever we wish it to mean in any particular instance. But by the "customary and normal" understandings of what constitutes "theory" in contemporary sociology, the lamentations are misplaced and exaggerated. One should look for theory where theory-like formulations are being

attempted, not in avowedly descriptive accounts, factual inventories, policy appraisals, ideological controversies, and other non-theoretical statements. When one does look for theoretical attempts, they are to be found. For example, E.K. Francis (1976) has presented a framework for analyzing, not "ethnicity," but ethnic aspects of social behavior by specifying some 59 central definitions that are used in over one hundred partially-ordered, empirically-based propositions. Such a comprehensive work paradoxically invites the charge that it is incomplete. Quite so, and necessarily. But there is no doubt that the work does represent the systematic building of theory.

In conclusion, let us cite for the sake of emphasis our summary appraisal of the state of the field in 1975 -- for the judgments then made have added urgency today.

The most effective attempts to explain ethnic relations have been both multivariate and systematically theoretical. For example, adequate accounting for intrasocietal collective violence requires specification of: (a) sources of widespread discontent; (b) communicative and organizational resources available to the discontented partisans and to the authorities..., including locations in social structure; (c) cultural values and beliefs concerning priorities of goals and means, attribution of responsibility and efficacy, legitimacy of power, justifications, social trust, and effectiveness of protest and rebellion; (d) resources and organizational support for incumbent authorities and institutions; (e) resources and organizational support for discontented and protesting opponents of incumbent authorities and regimes; (f) "crucial events" that signal intentions and strength or weakness of opposing social formations and movements.

Much of the contribution of past and current research has been the factual confrontations and logical criticisms that have debunked myths and stereotypes, refuted erroneous assumptions, and challenged superficial explanations. This critical activity is indispensable and must continue. But, in addition, we believe the time has come for greater pressure on work in this field to pose explanatory problems and to search for sufficient as well as necessary conditions. This usually means a complex research strategy for coping with multivariate designs..., but closer approximations to experiments should be sought whenever clear specification of main variables is feasible.

Full hospitality is recommended for data, methods, and concepts from other behavioral and social sciences. "Race and ethnic relations" are not respectful of academic boundaries. Of course, there is a distinctive sociological core, and within it emphasis rightly will remain on variables

suggested by concepts of norms, institutions, power, and authority, statuses, social networks, social structures, and the like. The power of such variables in explaining large-scale social movements and conflicts of our time has never been clearer -- thanks to some of the work here reviewed (Williams, 1975a).

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